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An Armed People Is Always a Free People

By Victor L. Berger.

CAPITALIST papers all over the country have attacked me with great bitterness, because of my article two weeks ago asking Socialists and workmen in general to prepare to fight for freedom and to be ready to back up their ballots with bullets, if necessary.

The usual howl of "anarchist" was raised by men who know no more about economic and political terms than a donkey knows of Latin grammar.

What I wrote in that article I had written in this paper before. I have also said it in numerous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

And I have always said it in the interest of peace, justice and order, and because I want to make peaceable progress possible.

I repeat: A revolution can never be "made"; neither by one man, even if he were the most powerful genius, nor by a few thousand men, even if they were ever so fanatical.

We have examples of this in history.

Although the Catholic church in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries was in pressing need of a "reform of head and members," as the holy church councils so often complained, yet the talented Cola Rienzi, after a brief season of triumph, was burned in Rome at the stake in the public market-place, amid the rejoicings of the people.

Although the French especially were quite convinced of the necessity of a reformation, it was just in France that the Albigenses were persecuted and rooted out with bloody severity.

So it was in other countries.

But when the time was ripe, there arose a rough and burly monk, a man who was neither a statesman nor a scholar. And this reckless genius, Martin Luther, carried through successfully what many other and some greater men before him had attempted in vain.

The minds of men had been prepared for the revolution.

So it is with every revolution. It is always dependent upon the development of conditions. The revolution is only the seal on a preceding evolution in men's minds.

And it may require many so-called "revolutions" to carry out one single but thorough-reform successfully.

In my opinion, those who would advise street riots and insurrections would be guilty of a crime against the laboring class, especially in view of the perfection of modern instruments of murder and the helpless condition of the workers.

An appeal to arms without having any arms is more than foolish—it is criminal.

As anybody who is at all acquainted with me knows, I am most decidedly in favor of the ballot and a propaganda of education. We must have a great many ballots and a great deal of education.

However, we must not forget that all nations which have bettered existing conditions have been combatants; that is, they have been armed.

Such was decidedly the case in the time of the Reformation and during the English revolution.

In France, indeed, the people were poorly armed at first, till they plundered the state arsenal on the morning of July 14, 1789, and took 28,000 guns and cartridges. But, in the first place, the French aristocracy was perfectly rotten and no longer capable of resistance, and secondly, the regular French troops fraternized with the people from the very beginning of the revolution.

Moreover, history teaches us that an armed people has always been a free people. There has never been a plainer example of this than the case of the Boers in South Africa.

Tyrants and usurpers, therefore, have always taken care to disarm the people. And the English did the same thing in South Africa in subduing what was left of the 30,000 peaceable Dutch farmers—a little armed nation that had learned how to shoot straight.

Whenever one nation or one class comes under the yoke of another, the conquered nation or conquered class is always disarmed, and rendered non-combatant.

The founders of our constitution well understood and considered all this, and therefore inserted the following clause in the constitution of the United States:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."—Amendment II, Article II.

This clause was placed in the constitution expressly for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity to defend their freedom.

In the debate upon this clause it was insisted that such a right must be reserved for the people to guard them eventually against usurpers in our country.

It goes without saying that the founders of this republic never even dreamed of such a militia as ours is today—the arming of fools and fops to hold in check the great mass of the people for the benefit of a few money bags.

In those days (1783-89) there was no more a plutocracy than a proletariat in this country. Conditions were then entirely different.

But, although the fathers of our republic took such pains to create a "nation in arms," yet today there is scarcely any other folk in the world (except probably the Chinese or Russians) so completely disarmed, so totally without weapons, as the mass of the American workmen.

In Germany and France almost every man is a soldier, almost every man is thus at one time of his life an armed man.

This imprudent certain stamp on the people.

However severely militarism should be condemned, it has at least this one good side, that besides discipline it gives the man a certain self-confidence and teaches him the use of a gun.

To those who are afraid to trust the people with firearms the example of Switzerland proves most clearly that a general arming of the people would by no means result in a "revolution."

In Switzerland every citizen is a soldier and owns his own weapon and keeps it at home. The government teaches the people the use of arms for reasons of state.

And although the Swiss workmen are by no means better situated materially than their American brothers, and although the Swiss bourgeoisie sometimes carries on regular bawling against labor agitators, we hear nothing of revolutions or dangerous insurrections in Switzerland.

There is a great deal less rioting in Switzerland than either in America or in Russia, where the people are totally disarmed.

On the contrary, if the social question is settled in any country without spilling a drop of blood, that country will be Switzerland.

There can be no question that the general disarming of our people has contributed very considerably to their enslavement.

We are obliged to fear our "government" far more than the Montenegrins, Arabs and other half-barbarous races fear theirs.

And yet, in accordance with progress, our higher civilization, our higher culture, ought to make us only so much the freer.

Our ruling class, indeed, knows better how to value the advantage of arms.

Not only are barracks erected in the neighborhood of all the large cities, not only is the militia limited to a comparatively few regiments,

There are Americans who claim that while public ownership might be all right in other countries, it would never do in this, because here we would have too much stealing.

Is that a good argument? Aside from the fact that stealing is now going on everywhere in private business and in public life because people are made corrupt by necessity and by the insecurity of our economic conditions, which compel even the rich to steal—can it be that the American people have become so dishonest in their nature that they dare not trust themselves to do their own business?

If that is true, then the time has come when we must give the scepter of civilization to another race.

Nothing shows more the utter decadence of our middle class than the frantic methods by which they try to "make business" artificially when there is none.

It is for that purpose mainly that fairs, carnivals, Jahrmarkts, home-comings, and other similar great

recruited from the "better" class, instead of arming all the people, as in Switzerland—but even in church and school the middle class and their children are taught to hate and abhor the so-called "dangerous classes."

This is called teaching "patriotism."

No, we surely want no Russian kind of a revolution. Nor do we want a repetition of the French revolution if it can possibly be avoided.

However, human nature is so constituted that in the struggle for existence—in the class struggle—people only respect what they fear. This law holds just as good today as it did a thousand years ago.

The Swiss workmen are respected by the Swiss capitalist class because they are combatants besides having the ballot.

The American workmen are despised and scorned, although having the ballot, because they are non-combatants.

Therefore, in the interest of peace and harmony—in the interest of peaceable progress—in the interest of the future greatness of this nation—I want to see the Swiss system or any other orderly method of a general arming of the people adopted.

If that is not done we will have the French and Russian kind of revolution. Then I have great fears for our civilization.

It may soon come to an untimely end either by the action of the plutocracy or through an ochlocracy (mob rule).

Let us learn from history.

affairs are arranged. And it is rather amusing to see how the majority of these middle class business men get left every time, as far as the money-making part is concerned—and how the monopolists get almost the entire financial benefit.

Milwaukee, with its large class of cockroach business men, furnishes a characteristic example. They have tried everything here to "make business" in summer. The last effort was a home-coming.

Now of course an affair of this kind is ridiculous for a large city. Capitalists and members of the upper middle class can "come home" at any time, but the so-called home-coming would be the very last time they would naturally select. And the proletarians who have no money cannot come home even if they would, and as a rule they have no home to come to.

So the affair was virtually a Saturnalia for Milwaukeeans who came home very late at night, or rather very early in the

morning. And like the very motive of the whole affair—which was money-making and profit—the whole spirit of the celebration was disagreeable and vulgar.

But after all, the profits went to a very few down-town saloonkeepers, the red light district—and Mr. John I. Beggs, of the Street Railway and Electric Light Company, who got the lion's share. He caught them going and coming, and he furnished the light besides.

We are sorry for a few well-meaning men who have wasted their energy for the humbug.

The daily press of the entire country printed a news item supposed to come from Germany that Comrade James Graham Phelps Stokes had been elected one of the three honorary presidents of the world congress of the Y. M. C. A., held in Barmen, Germany.

The other two presidents were said to be Prince Bernadotte of Sweden and Lord Kinnaird of England. Like all other Socialist papers we believed that news item to be bona-fide. We therefore expressed the hope that Comrade Stokes would also use this opportunity to convert one or the other of the "blooming haristocrats" to Socialism.

However, we hereby take it all back and say the contrary. Why? Because we received the following letter from our friend and comrade, Stokes:

"Dear Victor—What do you take me for anyway? A hohnobber of princes and dukes and earls and things? You have just got to take it all back! I am nothing of the kind, and you should have known better than to publish such a yarn."

"I am in no way associated with the Y. M. C. A.—though I believe many good people are. Nor am I active, nor ever have been, in the Christian Socialist movement. The Socialist Party movement is the only movement of any kind that I have taken any part in since I joined the party three years ago."

"Yours fraternally,
"J. G. Phelps Stokes."

Send Your Subscription For New Building Now

Well! Well! Well! What's the matter? A whole week and not a single subscription to the stock of the People's Realty Company. This is the first time this has occurred since the building project was started.

What's the matter? Is it the hot weather? The dog days? Surely, the fault cannot lie with the intrinsic value of the investment. There is none safer and sounder to be found anywhere on the face of the globe. As there are about thirteen of the fifteen thousand dollars already subscribed, why not end the matter with a whirlwind finish? Let us tell the principal features about this new building once more.

The lot is fifty feet wide on Chestnut street, and one hundred and fifty feet long on Sixth street. Chestnut street is one of the main thoroughfares in Milwaukee. It is especially valuable to us, because by means of short cuts afforded by streets running diagonally, tens of thousands of workmen and women use it daily. So it is a sort of a "working people's runway."

There are a lot of business houses situated on the street, chief amongst which is the main office and plant of the world's greatest brewery, the Pabst Brewing Company. This is only three and one-half blocks distant. Sixth street, on the side, is the longest street in Milwaukee. Direct cars run on both streets. On Sixth street the Milwaukee Northern Railway Company also operates the Sheboygan Interurban Line. This line connects with the Chicago-Milwaukee Electric Line. Traffic on the latter is very heavy, and it is reported that their heavy interurban trains, consisting often of three or more cars, will soon be run every thirty minutes. This company now runs about forty trains a day to and from Chicago. The Milwaukee street car company contemplates running interurban cars on Chestnut street to Oconomowoc and Watertown soon. In addition to all this, the site is situated only two blocks from the proposed Metropolitan Civic Center. The moment this idea is carried into effect it will no doubt nearly double the value of our lot. Another thing must not be forgotten: the street car center of Milwaukee lies only two or three minutes' ride from our corner. It is accessible for one fare, direct, or by transfer, on all street car lines now operating in Milwaukee. All who have any knowledge of real estate in Milwaukee agree that it is one of the most valuable corners in the city. That this is true is already proven by the fact that since we purchased it we have already received an offer to sell it at an advance of five

hundred dollars over what we paid. In fact, the lot adjoining ours on the east has only twenty feet frontage, with a small, old, three-story building, for which the owner asks \$14,000. We paid \$250 per front foot, this man asks \$700 per front foot. Did we buy cheap? We will let our readers answer. It is therefore safe to make the statement that the real estate value will double in a few years.

The building to be erected on it is to contain three stories and a good, high basement, and is to be built of concrete and brick. It is to be modern and fireproof. Such a building is estimated to cost about \$35,000 to \$38,000. With the price of the lot, it will bring the cost of the total improvement up to about \$50,000.

Now, to finance the new under-

taking, the People's Realty Company, with a capital stock of \$15,000, has been organized. Shares are \$25 each, and out of a total of six hundred, five hundred and three are sold. There are less than one hundred more, which, while not actually signed for, yet are spoken for, and will undoubtedly be called for shortly. The purchase price of the lot was only \$12,500. With the stock fully subscribed and paid, the balance, \$2,500, can be applied toward the building. The money to build will be raised by mortgage. If we borrow \$35,000 it will give us about \$37,000 to spend for the erection and furnishing of the building.

Let us have your subscription now. Send it right away. Don't delay. Do it today. Here are some blanks to assist you.

1909.
To E. T. Melms, Secretary Milwaukee County Campaign Committee, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis.
Find enclosed \$..... which please apply to Spring Campaign Fund, it being understood that the balance of said fund, if any, after all expenses of the campaign have been paid, is to be applied to the fall campaign deficit.
Name.....
Address.....

Cash Payment Plan—Stock Subscription—People's Realty Company—Capital Stock \$15,000. 600 Unassessable Shares at \$25 each.
.....\$19,000
To H. W. Bistorius, Treasurer, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
I, the undersigned, hereby subscribe for the number of unassessable shares, of the par value of \$25.00 each, of the capital stock of the "People's Realty Company," of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, set opposite my signature, for which find enclosed..... The subscriber is to receive four (4) per cent interest per year from date of payment in full of this subscription to and including December 31, 1910, and payable July 1, 1910, and January 1, 1911.
No. of Shares..... Subscriber.....
Amount..... Address.....

Time Payment Plan—Stock Subscription—People's Realty Company—Capital Stock \$15,000. 600 Unassessable Shares at \$25 each.
.....\$19,000
To H. W. Bistorius, Treasurer, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
I, the undersigned, hereby subscribe for the number of unassessable shares, of the par value of \$25.00 each, of the capital stock of the "People's Realty Company," of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, set opposite my signature, and I agree to pay to H. W. Bistorius, treasurer, for each share so subscribed the sum of twenty-five dollars in four installments of twenty-five per cent each, due and payable quarterly after date on the next succeeding first days of January, April, July and October. Enclosed herewith find..... for the first installment. I agree to pay the balance every three months thereafter as above enumerated. The subscriber is to receive four (4) per cent interest per year from date of payment in full of this subscription to and including December 31, 1910, and payable July 1, 1910, and January 1, 1911.
No. of Shares..... Subscriber.....
Amount..... Address.....

"If This Be Treason— Make the Most of It"

By Victor L. Berger.

THERE are now about a half million workmen idle all the year round—even during so-called "good times"—although willing to work and depending on work for a support of their families.

There are now over three million men idle part of the year, during periods extending from six weeks to eight months. The number of the unemployed reaches four millions during "hard times."

Talk about patriotism. About the "Stars and Stripes." What is left the poor tramp but the "Stars and Stripes"? The stars above him when he camps in the open air in summer and the "stripes" upon him when he is sent to some jail in winter.

Nor is this all. During the past thirteen years the prices of all the necessities of life have gone up, until the cost of living is twice what it was thirteen years ago.

Our standard of living has gone down now to that of the Western European workman—and in some respects it is lower, because our American proletarian lacks the legal protection of the French, English or German workman.

But they tell us that this is the necessary effect of machinery. That machinery "saves labor."

But we ask: Did genius brood over books and drawings, work about models and laboratories, to lift the burden from the laborer's back and give the toiler time for mental and domestic pleasures?

Or did the genius of humanity intend that by his achievements millions of human beings shall be retired to their miserable abodes and die there of hunger and want?

We understand that under the present economic system this can not be changed. That the workingman cannot get the full value of his product because the employer (the capitalist) must nowadays make a profit on the work of his laborers.

That if the capitalist, the owner of the machinery and the raw material, does not see any profit in engaging workmen for the purpose of producing, he will not produce.

That the capitalist's selfishness is excusable and necessary.

However, if the spirit of selfishness is to predominate and control the entire human race—so are we selfish.

And since we cannot help ourselves individually, since the means of production are so concentrated now that only in a collective form can they be returned to us, our selfishness has taken a collective form. And the progress of the age and the existence of civilization depends upon the success of our selfishness.

We must help all in order to help one. That is our aim. That is the aim of Socialism.

And if we cannot get all of it at once, we want to get as much of it now as we possibly can.

We Socialists protest against defying cash and demonizing man. We fight against exalting the products of labor and degrading the laborer. We insist that a brave, industrious man, factory worker or farmer, who lives and loves, is worth infinitely more than a pile of gold or a package of greenbacks.

We demand that even today in every industry requiring dead capital and living work—cash and labor—the man should be considered the more important of the two.

We resent refined brutality that excuses enforced idleness and its concomitant evils—misery, starvation and shame—by arguing that the "price of labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand."

If labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand, then we, the producers, want to have control of the supply and demand. And there is only one way to do it—i. e., by public ownership.

There are two ways of effecting great social changes in a republic—the ballot and the bullet. If our people are not wise—if they are otherwise—then we may have use for both of them.

But no one but a fool will consider the latter way until the former has been used with its full effect.

And I believe the ballot has great efficiency. I believe that while the ballot itself may not make us free, it will put into our hands the power of achieving our freedom.

For that purpose the ballot must be used in the right way. If you want democratic Socialism you must have a Social-Democratic party. None of the capitalist parties can help us.

Capitalism has no special politics. It simply wants to perpetuate its power. Look at our national congress in Washington.

Thousands of daily and weekly papers identify capitalism with patriotism and Socialism with disorder.

"Money is no object" if it will secure the interest of capitalism. A Democratic senator is as good as a Republican.

It is the business of all these politicians and of all the editors to warn the people against Socialism, and to promise them "protection" or "free trade" or "prosperity" and a "full dinner pail," or to guarantee the deposits (which they do not have) in the savings banks of the country.

In short, capitalism controls all natural resources, the money, the commerce, the transportation lines, the congress, courts, legislatures, and executives; it controls the press, the churches, the police, the militia and the political leaders.

There is no hope unless the working people—the producers of the country—organize in one great body which will fight capitalism everywhere, in politics, in the press, in the pulpit, in the economic field, and in every other way, as the time and the necessity may require.

I concede that this preaching may sound "lawless" to some people. But what of it?

Lawlessness of the right kind is a lever that has moved the world forward.

It was by an unlawful conspiracy that the Magna Charta was obtained. The Reformation was a rebellion against God and the Holy Church. Regicide, then the "blackest of crimes," barred out of the English constitution the question of "divine right" of kings. Grand larceny in Boston led up to the Declaration of Independence. The blood of kings, bishops and nobles washed away feudalism in France. And John Brown's lawless raid freed the negro slave.

And last but not least: Are the capitalists of our country not also lawless whenever it suits their purpose?

We should be grateful if the social revolution, if the freeing of seventy-five million whites would not cost more blood than the freeing of four million negroes in 1861.

And the better we are organized, the more political power and economic and social strength we obtain—the better the people are armed in every respect—the less bloody the revolution will be.

Therefore, workmen of America, organize in your unions. Join the Social-Democratic party. Think of the tremendous duty before you toward your family, your class and your nation.

Victor L. Berger

The Prayer of the Tenement

"Breath—breath—give me breath." A Yiddish whisper on a night in April, 1903, from the heart of the New York Ghetto.

"At 18 Clinton street, back in the rear tenement, a young Roumanian Jew lay dying of consumption. I had come in with a Jewish doctor. With every breath I felt the heavy, foul odor from poverty, ignorance, filth, disease. In this room ten feet square, six people lay on the floor, packed close, rubbing the heavy sleep from tired eyes and staring at us dumbly. Two small windows gave them air, from a noisome court—a pit twenty feet across and five floors deep. The other room was only a closet six by seven, with a grated window high up opening on an air shaft eighteen inches wide. And in that closet more were sleeping, three on a bed, one in a cradle.

"Breath—breath—give me breath." The man's disease was infectious; and yet for two long weeks he had lain there dying, from his soiled bed he could touch the one table where the two families ate; the cooking stove was but six feet from him; the cupboard, over his pillow, he could even reach one of the cradles, where his baby girl lay staring at his strange position. For his wasted body was too feeble to rise; too choked, too tortured to lie down. His young wife held him up while the sleepers stared silently on, and that Yiddish whisper came over and over again, but now with a new and more frightful meaning. "Breath—breath—breath. Or kill me; oh, kill me!"

"Two years ago this man had come to America—one of the four hundred and eighty-eight thousand in 1901. He came young and well and hopeful, with his wife and their baby son. Two more had been born since then. It was to be a new country, a new home, a fresh start, a land to breathe in. "Breath—breath—give me breath." He had breathed no air here but the close, heavy air of the sweatshop from six in the morning until ten at night. Sometimes—he whispered—he worked on until eleven. He was not alone. In New York to-day and tonight are over fifty thousand like him, working. And late in the night when he left the feverish labor, at the hour when other

homes are sleeping, he had come in through the foul court and had sunk into restless sleep in the dark closet six feet by seven. There are three hundred and sixty-one thousand such closets in the city. And this was his home.

"Luft—gebt mir Luft." He spoke only Yiddish. The new country had given the Plague before the language. For the sweat shop and the closet had made him weak; his weakened body could make no fight; the Plague came in and fed itself. Still on through the winter he had worked over the machine in the sweatshop, infecting the garments he sewed—feverish, tired, fearful—to buy food and coal, to keep his home alive. And now, on this last day of life, ten times he had whispered to his brother, begging him to care for the wife and the three little children.

"The struggle now is ended. The home is scattered. The smothered whisper is forever hushed. "Breath—breath—give me breath." It speaks the appeal of thousands.

—Ernest Poole.

Civic Progress

The permanency of a republic, as proven by the history of the past, depends on the abiding faith of its people, in the integrity of its institutions, and the permanency and integrity of such institutions is made possible only by a deep and lasting interest in its civic progress. The people of this country are fortunate in having a system of government republican in form and democratic in principle. A government founded on the belief that governments instituted among men derive their power from the governed; a government which is a government of the people in fact as well as in theory; a government whose constitution is conceded to be perhaps the greatest document drawn up by the hand of man; a government whose founders were men and patriots of far-seeing judgment and the greatest integrity, who had the welfare of the people at heart and who believed in founding a government that would last against the ravages of time. How well the founders of this republic builded is shown by the progress we have made from the beginning, and the foundation upon which the structure stands is the foundation of popular sovereignty and the belief of the people in the integrity of our institutions.

Organized labor's work for civic progress has been incalculable; the men of labor have unselfishly and untiringly worked in concert for the common good and general welfare of all the people, and the welfare of the institutions of the country has ever been a source to which the labor movement directed its best efforts. It believes in practical progress; it believes in building up, and not tearing down; and it is doing its work well for the achievement and practical application of ideals in the civic affairs of the cities, the states and the nation. —Electrical Worker.

For Real Peace

Seven seats were won by the Socialist party in Holland in the election for members of Parliament just concluded. They captured two districts in Amsterdam and one at The Hague, where the peace angels did a lot of talking about war and accomplished nothing. "The Socialists say they will show them how to abolish war. The increase in the popular vote of the Socialists was about 3 per cent, and the oblique politicians are deeply impressed by the rapid growth of the movement, which is overcoming all the obstacles thrown in its way.

"Socialism Made Plain" is a fine book to place in your neighbor's hands. It is convincing and it is spry at the same time.

Christian Socialism—By the Rt. Rev. F. S. Spalding, Bishop of Utah



CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM is an unfortunate term. Karl Marx called it "the holy water with which the priests consecrate the barbarisms of the aristocrats." F. D. Maurice, who invented the term, or at least popularized it and inspired men like Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes to try to reform, in the name of Christ, the conditions of the life and labor of the English poor, seems to have known nothing of scientific Socialism, but rather to have had in mind the betterment of society by creating a higher sense of social responsibility in all who profess and call themselves Christians. There are many Christian ministers who claim to be Christian Socialists because they do not limit their duties to preaching on Sunday and during the week developing the social and religious activities of their own congregations, but take an active part in the reform movements of the city and state. These men have no right to the name *Socialist*, nor do I think that the adjective Christian in front of it can make its meaning indefinite enough to include them. *Individualism can never be enlightened enough, can never even be Christian enough, to make it Socialism.*

Socialism is the name of a philosophy of history. It claims to be the result of social development, the inevitable culmination of social evolution. Accordingly, the Socialist has no doubt of its ultimate success. The missing link might have wanted to remain a missing link. He may have become attached to his tail and hair and wanted to keep them, but, whether he liked it or not, he had to become man—forces of nature mightier than he drove him on. In the same way, the Socialist feels that the abolition of competition, based on capitalist exploitation, and the coming in of co-operation, based on the supremacy of the democracy, is inevitable. To accept Socialism, therefore, is to be wise enough to see what is coming, to fall in with evolution and help it, rather than to stand in the way and be—to say the least—unprepared for it.

Take the definition which Mr. Eugene V. Debs gave to Mr. Lincoln Steffens, in the interview reported in the October number of *Everybody's Magazine*: "Socialism is the next natural stage in the evolution of human society; an organization of all men into an ordered, co-operative commonwealth, in which they work together, consciously, for a common purpose—the good of all, not of the few, not of the majority, but of all." Here the point I am urging is made clear—that is, that Socialism, as Debs said in another part of the interview, is bound to come, even without the Socialists. But the definition is hardly adequate, because it says nothing about ways and means. To the definition, therefore, let us add, to make it complete, "and therefore the means of production and exchange shall become and ever remain the property of the whole people."

Forces Bringing About Socialism

The proof the Socialist offers, that the reorganization of society away from competition and toward co-operation is inevitable is two-fold. He dwells upon the reckless waste, the unjust distribution of the necessities of life when there is really plenty for all, and the undeniable tendency of the wealth of the world to become the possession of a smaller and smaller number of its inhabitants. This is so absurd that it cannot last, especially where manhood suffrage exists, and therefore the majority—that is, the workers—has the power at any time to end it. But he especially relies on a philosophy of history which he believes is true. The argument, as I understand it, is as follows:

Two forces affect the perpetuity of the human family, as indeed all species of living things, heredity and environment. Advantages for successfully competing in the struggle for life through which all living things are compelled to pass are preserved in their descendants by the laws of heredity. But, important as is this law of inheritance, a favorable environment is more important, especially in the human species. Food supply, healthful climate, easy means of communication, so that Socialist instincts may have free course, are the dominant influences in the development of civilization. Back of every movement of history will be found a material cause as its chief cause. It is upon this fact that Karl Marx, the founder of scientific Socialism, insisted. He called it "Historical Materialism"—a phrase which is now softened into "the economic conception of history."

Economics Behind History

We preachers have become so accustomed to emphasizing the influence of great men that we overlook, possibly we scorn the humble influences which in part, at least, produced our great men, and, after they were produced, made it possible for them to exert an effective influence. To illustrate: Abraham would never have migrated westward had there been plenty of food for his stock in Ur of the Chaldees. Jacob went down to Egypt in search of food. The movement of the children of Israel out of Egypt was an economic movement. All the great wars of history which have affected the social development of man grew out of material reasons. The voyage of Columbus, the Reformation, the British Revolution and Restoration, the fight for American independence, when one goes to the bottom, have behind them questions of trade, and that means bread and butter.

Bread and butter are behind even the great spiritual movements of history, because they are indispensable except where there is a comparative abundance.

The Wanderer—By Emanuel Julius

I was an evening in late August. The golden shadows of twilight seemed mournfully brooding over the death of day and the birth of night.

It was a scene that the rhyming poet could joyfully revel in, but the beauties of nature told no inspiring tale to the tired wanderer. Tired and weary, his only desire was to discover some nook and cranny where he could spend the night in blissful rest. Warily, and stealthily, he glided through the medieval gateway of the quaint old garden and betook himself toward the end of the earthly paradise, where a rippling brook danced gayly.

Endorsements of R. A. Dague's Pamphlet, "What Is Socialism? What Is Capitalism?" The Seattle Tribune says: "This is a most useful pamphlet, which will thoroughly dissipate misconceptions that Socialism is an irreligious movement."

Ex-Senator J. W. Powell, of Goldfield, Nev., writes: "Send me some more of those pamphlets 'What Is Socialism? What Is Capitalism?' I want to put them into the hands of the preachers I know. The leaflets are splendid—are unanswerable."

Ex-Senator E. K. Taylor, mayor of Alameda, Cal., Republicans, writes: "I have read your very interesting pamphlet, 'What Is Socialism? What Is Capitalism?' and believe you have stated the case more briefly and more fully than any other author whose works I have read on the subject. A great difficulty with Socialism is a widespread ignorance and prejudice concerning it."

C. B. Messenger, Republican, and editorial writer of Los Angeles, Cal., writes: "You have written a very convincing pamphlet. I do not know that I can say, 'almost those persuader me,' but I may, perhaps, in time, reach that condition. I am a little timid about putting full Socialism into practice."

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wanderers, or the wanderers have produced too much—so he is commanded to "move on."

He has the "right" to beg for work, but let him dare to demand work and then he is no longer told to "move on," but instead, the ever-ready policeman is ready to perform his duty and he unceremoniously "moves on"—and, if necessary—"moves on" to eternity.

And so he trudges on—here to-day and there tomorrow—the slave of his own folly and ignorance. Soon he falters and faints, and there is one less wanderer to suffer—but his place in the ranks is soon filled, for the army is ever growing, even swelling—this sad, barefoot brigade of the hungry "movers-on."

Our Rotten Courts

The action of the Ohio supreme court, several days ago, in debaring Attorney Charles Thatcher of Toledo from practicing his profession in any court in the state, is beginning to dawn upon a great many people as one of the most flagrant abuses of judicial power ever perpetrated in this country.

It appears that Mr. Thatcher is an attorney who is both fearless in standing up for human rights and strongly sympathetic toward the poor and helpless—all of which is sufficient cause to mark him as a suspicious character among the jelly-fish and parasitical legal limbs of the law whose sole time and talent is consumed in defending capitalism and enabling it to break down laws and rights at will.

The heinous crime laid at the door of Attorney Thatcher was that he fought a corporation tool named Judge Morris in Lucas county, who held an odious record of hurling injunctions at the luckless heads of the workers, and also had a chronic habit of taking damage cases from juries and rendering verdicts in favor of his master.

Last fall Thatcher made an aggressive campaign against Morris, driving about shops and factories in an automobile, accompanied by a man who had lost both legs on a railroad and whose suit for damages was taken out of the jury's hands by Morris and a verdict for the company ordered. Morris, who before he was elected to the bench originally, posed as a great "friend of the people," went down to defeat, and as a result the corporation hirelings, great and small, swore vengeance.

It seems that in his campaign Attorney Thatcher not only attacked Morris, but exposed the judicial records of Supreme Judges Schauck and Price, who were also denounced by the Ohio Federation of Labor because of their undisguised corporation leanings in damage cases. But Schauck and Price were pulled through on the Taft ticket, and immediately the underground wires were pulled and the machinery was set in motion to make an object lesson of Thatcher, as a solemn warning to all members of the legal fraternity to not stray far from the capitalistic reservation.—E.R.

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Foolish Notions as to Socialism

By a Business Man-Socialist.

Socialism Makes No Provision for Amusement or Entertainment

Why, under Socialism we would have no comic newspapers, no places of amusement, or entertainment, no toys for the children, no candy shops, nothing to please the young, and so forth, groans a fellow who is beginning to see some good in Socialism, but still finds this one defect. He argues that it would be too silly for the government to embark upon such small matters. Well, as long as he thinks they are small matters, and the majority of the people think with him, I presume that the government will not take up this line, so that it may be left for those of the capitalistic mind who insist that if you take away all private business, all incentive will be destroyed. These special lines may be left to save that "choice" species known as capitalistic incentive, because the people are becoming unbearably tired of this kind of incentive being alive by its operations in the necessities of life. The people are becoming more and more determined that they will no longer suffer the tortures of hell in order to cultivate that useless plant called capitalistic incentive, but for the benefit of my friend I will call his attention to the fact that the government maintains museums and collects relics and antiquities and has succeeded in these matters far beyond any individual. It maintains kindergartens, and public parks for children. It sends its chemists to analyze the candies put upon the market in order to prevent the children from being poisoned. It would seem that it is only a step more to actually make the candy, and be sure that it will not poison the children.

As to funny newspapers the Socialist press will guarantee that they will not become extinct, for there is nothing funnier in this world than the antics of those who oppose Socialism, and there are still plenty of this kind of beings to be caricatured.

So to my friend I say, "Cheer up, for your fears are without foundation."

Bishop Flays Young Rockefeller

New York: The Rt. Rev. Chas. D. Williams, Protestant Episcopal bishop of the diocese of Michigan, in a sermon at St. Bartholomew's, said he wondered if John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "ever read the bible which he professes to teach." He referred to young Mr. Rockefeller, not by name, but as "a scion of wealth who recently applied to human relations the figure of the gardener's treatment of a rosebush, when he cuts off all but the hardiest buds." "And that doctrine," the bishop added, "was advanced

not in a board meeting, but before a bible class. They say a rose by another name will smell as sweet, but the odor of that rose smells strongly to me of petroleum."

Bread without the union label is made by sweat-dripping workers in unventilated cellars with grimy covered walls, and dirty floors heaped with refuse and rubbish, says an Eastern paper. That is quite likely to be the case with non-union made bread. Safety lies in buying the union label article.

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

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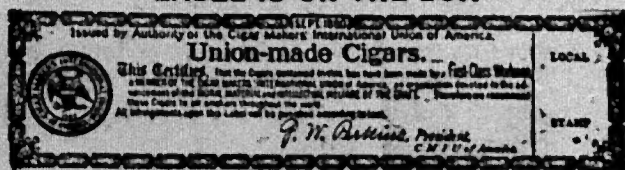
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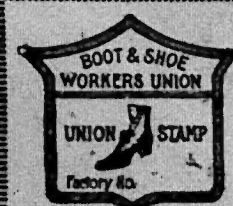
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The Belmont letter, addressed to capitalists of the Civic Federation, soliciting subscriptions, is reflected in the July issue of the *Civic Federation Review*. The single purpose of the organization and publication seems to be an assault on Socialism.

Hooley! Says a gloating newspaper item: "Last year the European olive crop failed. The devout Moslems of Turkey and Asia Minor would not eat butter or lard. There was no olive oil to be had. They bought cotton seed oil by the ship load. Now they like it better than olive oil. The failure of the olive crop was a good thing for America!" Hooley, but—specialists in food declare that cotton seed oil irritates the alimentary tract and that it is not a good food. Also, there are laws against using it to adulterate olive oil. But what do we care for the Moslems or their health—under capitalism we are not our brothers' keepers. Business forbids.

For years and years the French people have been set down as naughty, and fears have been expressed by novelists that the people in this country might grow to be like the French in their home and social relations. In recent years we have been getting a clearer view, and this has led to the discovery that the naughty part of France is simply an institution patronized and alone made possible by the tourists, a large fraction of them being Americans—just as the virtuous American merchant who annually goes to New York to buy goods and to "see the sights" makes possible the "tenderloin" district of the metropolis! And here comes a writer in the staid, literary and conservative *Atlantic Monthly* who says of the private life of France that, "Nowhere is home life richer, fuller, more wholesome, more replete with beautiful, unadorned expressions of mutual respect and affection; nowhere does the individual enjoy a more genuine material well-being and nowhere is he guided, by a saner and surlier philosophy."

We venture to say that if capitalism in this country keeps on getting possession of our morals as it has in recent years, the people of France will yet turn the tables on us and sound warnings against Yankee depravity.

Capitalism and Degeneracy
Blackpool, as the seaside resort of the factory population of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Warwick-

Half Hours in the Herald Sanctum

Correspondents are urged to write as briefly as possible and on one side of the paper only
We are not responsible for views of our correspondents

BISHOP CREEK AT 30 CENTS
(TO THE EDITOR)
Gafford Wilshire, the alleged Socialist editor, is still engaged in stock jobbing schemes, selling mining stock and reorganizing his many companies with the result that the stock of the "Greatest Gold Mine in the World" is quoted at the magnificent price of 30 cents, with few lambs in sight. Wilshire continues to keep up his bluff regarding development at the mine, but the expenditures for development don't show that Wilshire has parted with much of the money the comrades sent to him to place the mine on a paying basis. Comrades have sent Wilshire within three years more than one million dollars (\$1,000,000), with the understanding and belief that the money was to be used to sink shafts, get out the ore, etc. Wilshire's latest report shows that not much more than \$100,000 has been spent at Bishop in the interest of the stockholders.

What has become of the balance—\$900,000 or more?
Where are the dividends Wilshire promised that would be ready not later than October, 1908? Wilshire repeatedly said that \$100, \$200 and \$300 shares—the prices comrades paid "for Bishop Creek stock"—would unquestionably be here long before the year 1908. These claims Wilshire made two years ago when the lambs were frantic in their efforts to buy Bishop Creek stock. As this stock can now be bought for 30 cents a share and less, what explanation has Wilshire to offer?

The only persons who have profited by the stock jobbing of the alleged editor are Wilshire, Hassan & Stoval, and Fred R. Jones and Fred J. Mowry, the two latter being New York city brokers. The king bee of the beneficiaries, however, is Wilshire, and he is still thirsting for more from those who are willing to go into the scheme.

The following is a sample of the reports sent out by the stock brokers with Wilshire's approval, as he is listing stocks with them. It is said, through the avenue of some of his

JUST OFF THE PRESS!

The Saloon and the Home

What difference would it make in the saloon and drink question if every family in America had a decent HOME to live in? Would prohibition be an issue (if indeed it is) if there were no such thing as poverty? Get wise. Read

"County Option"

("Where Labor Stands at Present On the Liquor Question")—by Senator Winfield R. Gaylord.

Prices—50¢ per copy, \$4.00 per hundred, \$37.50 per thousand—postage or express prepaid.

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Politics and the Working Class

Written for the HERALD by William Restelle Shier

YOU say, my friend, that you are not interested in politics. But you are interested in wages, are you not? And in hours of labor? And in the conditions under which you work and live?

I take it that you want security of employment, schooling for your children, a nice home in which to live, leisure in which to enjoy life and the equivalent of what your labor produces.

It is also of some importance to you what laws you are compelled to obey. How your conduct is regulated by governmental decrees and what position you occupy in society, whether it be that of the despised menial or that of a respected citizen.

Now, you ask, what has all this got to do with politics? Everything.

It is in the power of governments to regulate wages, to determine what the hours of labor shall be, to enforce healthy conditions in the mines and shops and factories.

It is in the power of governments to insure every man and woman congenial and remunerative employment, to abolish child labor and to drive poverty out of the land.

It is in the power of governments to take care of the aged, to give every child a fair start in life, to encourage industry, to diminish disease, to promote the arts and sciences, to protect the weak against

the strong, to make life worth while for everybody.

And it is also in the power of governments, mark you, to do exactly the contrary.

If government can be made an instrument of good, it can also be made an instrument of evil, which most nations know to their sorrow.

Now, my friend, government is not something apart from the people. It is not something in which they have little or no concern. It is something which arises out of themselves, which is determined by themselves, and which in turn determines their relations to themselves and to each other. It is something which enters into your everyday life and which contributes to or mars your happiness.

It is exceedingly important, therefore, that you make your influence felt in politics. If you do not look after your own interests, nobody else will.

As a workingman, you want the government to advance working class interests. But is it doing this today? No! It is doing just the contrary. It is helping the masters to keep their workpeople in subjection, to cripple trade unions and to intensify the exploitation of the masses.

Governments today are controlled by business men in the interests of business men, just as in the past they were controlled by ecclesiastical orders, landed aristocracy and military castes in THEIR respective interests, and not in the interests of the people as a whole.

It is high time, my friend, that you should realize the class character of government. As long as there are classes in society, there will be class antagonisms, and as long as there are class antagonisms we simply cannot have "government of the people, by the people and for the people." Governments cannot serve two masters. Today they serve the capitalist class because they are controlled by the capitalist class, and as long as the capitalist class is in power, the workers need expect but little sympathy from its governments. The most they can expect are minor concessions to keep them quiet.

Plainly, then, the workers must follow the example of their masters, organize into a party of their own, get control of the governing powers and use them for their own ends. Not until they do so will laws be passed and enforced in their interests.

That, my friend, is the reason why you should take some stock in politics. As long as you and your fellow workers are content to "leave politics alone," as long as you are stupid enough to trust the law-making power, the courts, the army and the police to the enemies of your class, so long will you be duped, robbed and despised.

By getting into politics the workers have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

When, oh, when, will they realize it?

Canada.

Our Women's Circle

Conducted by Elizabeth H. Thomas
344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Childhood

WHAT emotions the recollection of childhood inspires, and how priceless its treasured memories in our advancing and declining years!

Laughing eyes and curly hair, little brown hands and bare feet, innocent and care-free, trusting and loving, tender and pure, what an elevating and satisfying influence these little gods have upon our maturer years!

Childhood! What a holy theme! Flowers they are, with souls in them, and if on this earth man has a sacred charge, a solemn obligation, it is to these buds and blossoms of humanity.

Yet how many of them are prematurely plucked, fade and die and are trampled in the mire. Many millions of them have been snatched from the cradle and stolen from their play to be fed to the forces that turn a workingman's blood into a capitalist's gold, and many millions of others have been crushed and perverted into filth for the slums and food for the potters' field.

Childhood is at the parting of the ways which lead to success or failure, honor or disgrace, life or death. Society is, or ought to be, profoundly concerned in the nurture of these little ones.

cover that Wilshire is getting the Bishop Creek Gold Mining Co. into such a tangle that none except himself will have any rights, and the thousands of comrades who parted with the cash to assist in the development of the "greatest gold mine in the world." THE OUTPUT OF WHICH WAS TO "CHANGE THE WORLD'S RATIO" will learn that they may have nothing but their sad experience to comfort them.

Wilshire, two years ago, when I wrote a few truths about him, threatened to cause my arrest on a charge of criminal libel. I plainly told both him and his lawyer to get busy, but nothing was done.

I warned comrades two years ago that the Bishop Creek gold mining scheme was being constructed on a plan of which only such men as John W. Gates should be proud.

I told comrades then that shares for which Wilshire had the effrontery to accept \$1.00, \$2.50 and \$4.00 each would go down to practically the worthless point, and I repeat the statement today.

Isn't it about time that the comrades who put up their hard earned coin, to the extent of \$1,000,000, more, insist that Mr. Wilshire explain what has become of the money? Wilshire's report shows that it is not in the treasury. Then, where is it? Wilshire says he knows, but declares it is nobody's business but his own. What do the comrades say who sent in their money to Wilshire—sent it in, mind you, for only one purpose, to develop the mine at Bishop Creek?

HENRY T. JONES.
New York, Aug. 4.

This is from a Wall street paper called "The Trader," dated July 14:

"Bishop Creek Gold Mines.
"This stock continues weak, but large blocks are changing hands around 30 cents to 40 cents per share. We consider Bishop Creek a good buy at present figures and advise averaging down on stock bought at higher figures. We will soon be in a position to render a report on this property that will be very interesting. In the meantime pick up what stock you can at low prices. We will send special report on request."

Here is the report the Wall street "wolves" promised:

"Special Report on Bishop Creek Gold Mines."
"Bishop, Cal., July 10, 1909.—For the purpose of pushing more rapidly the development work at the BISHOP CREEK GOLD MINE, and of avoiding any further difficulty with water in the shaft, a contract has been let by the BISHOP CREEK MILLING CO. for a complete new power equipment. "The new equipment will effectually do away with any difficulty with water in the shaft. The water this year, which has been so excessive on account of the unusual fall of snow in the mountains last WINTER, compelled a brief suspension of work this spring because the present equipment was not quite equal to the floods."

"Sinking is being prosecuted with the present equipment, and three shafts are busy putting down the shaft with all the speed possible. It is the intention of the company to sink another 100 feet before drifting on the ore body."

"STOCKHOLDERS' MEETING."
"At the stockholders' meeting of the Bishop Creek Mining Co., held in Phoenix, Arizona, recently, the entire assets of the Bishop Creek Gold Co. were sold to the Bishop Creek Milling Company, a holding company capitalized at \$100,000 common and preferred stock of a par value of \$10 per share. By this transfer, which was purely technical, the capitalization of the Bishop Creek Gold Co., which was \$250,000, was reduced to \$100,000. This is the stock valuation on which taxes must be paid. Taxes are thus reduced to one-sixteenth of the original amount. This was the point which the management was aiming at in transferring the stock."

"Originally, the capitalization of the Bishop Creek Mining Co. was \$250,000. Recently, this was increased to \$300,000."

"All the original \$300,000 was transferred to the treasury of the Bishop Creek Gold Co. The common stock, \$100,000, is in the treasury to remain, as the company is fully financed. The property of the Bishop Creek Gold Co. is considered to have the greatest amount of low-grade ore in existence today, and when fully developed, will make a great mine. The company's offices are at 300 William street, New York City."

The writer doesn't know how Wilshire—for he appears to be the whole show—can wipe out \$24,800,000 in shares at one stroke. According to the report, the \$25,000,000 capitalization was reduced to \$300,000. Hassan & Stoval alone own more than the latter amount.

I am not particularly versed in finance and am not an adept at stock jobbing, but I don't have to exert my mental machinery much to dis-

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LABOR UNIONS AND POLITICAL PARTIES.

By August Bebel, the great Socialist leader of German Reichstag.

"The trade union is that organization of labor which fights for the improvement of the workingman's condition on the field of the present order of government and society... but must carry on workingmen's politics—class struggle politics."—Extract from the book.

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The Builders' Column

By Teddy

"What! Give you my subscription for an anarchist sheet? No! Never! The idea of asking me to subscribe to the Social-Democratic Herald! These Socialists, with their papers, are doing nothing but creating anarchy, and not being satisfied with that, they also want to disrupt a man's religious ideas. No! You don't get me to subscribe for your paper. No anarchy for mine."

Did you ever get this rubbed into you from someone who thought he knew what Socialism was, but who later found out to his surprise that he did not? Socialism is, by no means, anarchy. Essentially, capitalism is anarchistic. The capitalists themselves are anarchists in their actions. We can prove that the capitalists are the most lawless citizens we have. Haven't they corrupted the senate? Haven't they fired the congressmen? Didn't they deport the innocent workmen from Colorado in violation of the law? Aren't they the ones who influence the president and governors to send down the troops when the workers are trying to adjust their rights? Don't they hire thugs to stir up riots during strikes?

Who murders and maims hundreds upon hundreds on the railroads of the United States through the overwork of the employees and the shoddy equipments? Who murders thousands with the adulterated foods and drugs? Who violates the child labor laws? Who are persistently lawless? The CAPITALISTS. They are the cause of it all.

What is the essence of anarchy? You will quickly answer lawlessness. Therefore, we can say the capitalists are anarchists in their actions. As to Socialism being antagonistic to religion, let us see what we can bring forth. Right in the beginning we must hit capitalism on the head, and say that it is capitalism that is antagonistic to religion, and not Socialism.

Religion in one sense teaches brotherly love. Isn't it capitalism that causes the masses of the people to scramble for a measly existence? Doesn't capitalism compel most of them to break the golden rule every day? Capitalism deprives them of the time to develop their spiritual nature. This is certainly sufficient for demonstrating that capitalism is antagonistic to religion. Of course, it must not be forgotten that the church and religion are two separate and distinct things. As for the church, the capitalists use it for their own purpose. They hold the purse strings which connect them with the preacher's tongue, and naturally when the preacher gets somewhat turbulent a yank at the strings will soon make him sit up and take notice. It is like an electrical shock to him and he quickly promises to be more careful the next time. You can go further and give superabundant demonstrations that capitalists are antagonistic to religion.

We want the subscriptions, however, so we can teach those capitalistically polluted minds, such as think they know, and don't. We cannot do it without your help, comrades, for if we could we would not constantly be after you for subscriptions.

Read the Social-Democratic Herald and start right in with your heart aflame, trying to burn your way into the Social Reform.

The Common Good

An "Americanized" Adaptation of Robert Blatchford's Famous "Merrie England"
CHAPTER XII.
WHAT ARE WE TO DO?

HE question is, how can Socialism be accomplished? I confess that I approach this question with great reluctance. The establishment and organization of a Socialistic state are the two branches of the work to which I have given least attention. Hitherto I have devoted my efforts to teaching the principles of Socialism, and to disproving the arguments brought against it. But I will do my best, merely observing that I can lay claim to no special knowledge, nor to any special aptitude for such a task. I have no "system" ready cut and dried. I don't think any sensible Socialist would offer such a system. Socialists are practical people in these days, and know that coats must be cut according to cloth.

But on one point I am quite certain, and that is that the first thing to do is to educate the people in Socialism. Let us once get the people to understand and desire Socialism, and I am sure we may very safely leave them to secure it.

The most useful work which Socialists can do at present is the work of education and organization.

Socialism will not come by means of a sudden coup. It will grow up naturally out of our surroundings, and will develop naturally and by degrees. But its growth and its development may be materially hastened.

It always amuses me to hear the intensely practical person demand, How are you going to do it? When will you make a start? Where do you propose to leave off?

My dear Mr. Smith, it is too late to ask when we are going to begin. We have begun. We, or rather they, began long ago. Nearly all law is more or less Socialistic, for nearly all law implies the right of the state to control individuals for the benefit of the nation. But of late years the law has been steadily becoming more and more Socialistic. I will give you a few examples.

The abolition of toll gates and bridge tolls was Socialistic action, for it made the roads and bridges common property.

Most of the building laws, by virtue of which streets must be of a specified width, back-to-back houses are forbidden, etc., are Socialistic, for they take away from the property-owner the power to do as he likes with his own.

The labor laws are socialistic, for they deny the employer the power to swindle his workmen. They deny the employer the power to work women and children to death.

The compulsory and free education laws are Socialistic. The laws which compel the inspection of mines and factories, the inspection of boilers, the placing of a load-line on ships, and the granting of relief of paupers, all are Socialistic, for they all interfere with the "freedom of contract" and the "rights of the individual." Finally, the acquirement of the postal arrangements by the state, and the establishment of municipal gas and water works are Socialistic measures, for they recognize the Socialistic principle of common ownership, production and distribution.

You will see, then, that Socialism has begun, so that the question of where to begin is quite superfluous.

(Continued next week.)

Books You Need

KARL MARX—By Wilhelm Liebknecht.
A touching account of the life and heroism of Marx by the veteran Liebknecht, who shared his privation with him in the days when Socialism was more than unpopular and its foremost advocates were in exile. Cloth, 50¢.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY—By Paul Lafargue.
Lafargue is a son-in-law of Karl Marx and has written quite a number of books, of which this is the most accessible. Cloth, 17¢; paper, 10¢.

SCIENCE AND THE WORKING-MAN—By Ferdinand Lassalle.
This is an address made in court, in which Lassalle rebuked those who charged him with stirring up class hatred. It is of more than mere historical interest. Cloth, 24 pages, 25¢.

FERDINAND LASSALLE—By Edward Bernstein.
Bernstein's "Lassalle" is the most reliable of the accounts of the wonderful achievements of Social-Democracy's first great agitator. Cloth, 19¢; paper, 10¢.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD, 344 5th St., Milwaukee

Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee

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TELEPHONE—GRAND 1742

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Trade Unions Growing

Since the Manufacturers' Association has placed a new president in the field and given him instructions to go ahead crushing labor unions, it is not amiss to give the names of a few organizations and their gains in membership during the period when the most opposition to organized labor developed. The following figures go back to the year 1898, giving the total membership then and the total

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membership on the first of January, 1909—a period of ten years. The fight against organized labor during the last ten years has been most bitter, but from the figures given it will be seen what the effect has been:

In 1898 the Bakers' International had 2,100 members; 1909, 16,200. Barbers grew from 3,000 to 23,000. Blacksmiths from 300 to 10,500. Brewery Workers from 10,000 to 36,000. Carpenters from 20,000 to 163,700. Retail Clerks from 5,000 to 50,000. Electrical Workers from 2,000 to 21,000. Stationary Engineers from 1,200 to 27,600. Stationary Firemen from none to 10,000. Granite Cutters from 4,000 to 11,300. Bartenders and Restaurant Workers from 2,500 to 49,500. Longshoremen from 8,000 to 50,000. Mine Workers from 10,000 to 261,000. Musicians from 6,000 to 35,400. Painters from 4,300 to 60,700. Plumbers from 4,000 to 10,500. Street Railway from 3,000 to 30,000. Seamen from 4,000 to 20,000. Teamsters from 1,700 to 84,000. Machinists from 10,000 to 55,700. Cigar makers and Typographical Unions have gained something like 50 per cent during that period. There are many other branches of labor organized than those mentioned above, some affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and some that are not, and the growth of each has been in proportion with other unions.

Mr. Kirby, Jr., the new president of the Manufacturers' Association, has a real job on his hands. He says organized labor is hanging by a thread.

Wait until he attempts to cut it!

—Labor World.

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Organized Labor

Workingmen demand their
Outgoing: I'll get an education.

Funny, Isn't It?

By Emanuel Julius
(Written for the HERALD.)

PEOPLE who work and produce are supposed to be poor. That is what everybody thinks and believes. They have been taught to believe that he who takes the bread, builds the houses, weaves the broadcloth, should be hungry, homeless and ragged.

How any one can believe that it is right for parasites to live on the cream of labor's product while the worker himself should feel the pangs of hunger, taxes my understanding.

When we meet an ill-dressed man on the streets we immediately surmise the fact that he is a workingman. Why? Because he is seedy and hungry looking. Workers are supposed to be hungry.

"Funny, isn't it?"

The workers themselves cannot realize the fact that they are entitled to as good, if not a better fare, than their exploiters receive. They cannot realize that being the producers of wealth they should be the receivers.

I beg your pardon. I should not have said "cannot," for they are slowly, very slowly, beginning to realize the fact that they are being robbed.

Nevertheless, it is a huge joke. Whether to laugh or weep depends on the point of view.

Tarrytown-on-Hudson.

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Affiliate With the Union of Your Craft

Do you know that when wages are reduced in times of panic they never rise again among unorganized workers?

Do you know that each succeeding panic has left the wages of the unorganized worker smaller than than they were before?

Do you know that in spite of all panics the wages of organized labor have steadily advanced and hours of labor shortened?

Do you know that if the wage-earners were all organized panics would be less frequent and less severe?

Do you know that the recent cut in your wages will never be recovered until you organize?

Do you know that the long hours of labor lessen your pay? How will you increase it?

Do you know that it is a duty you owe your family and your fellow craftsmen to join the union of your craft?

Do you know that the longer you delay in joining the union of your craft the longer you will be in bettering your present conditions, and in shortening your hours of labor per day and increasing your pay?

—Labor Record.

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PHOTO ENGRAVERS No. 19 (I. P. F. R.)—3d Friday, 220 4th St. Fred W. Reicher, 623 Clark St.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL—318 State St.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS No. 178 (I. B. of R. W. L. U.)—Every Friday, Wisconsin hall, 13th and Lee sts. Otto Oertel, 117 First St.

SHOE CUTTERS No. 271 (I. B. of R. W. L. U.)—3d and 4th Wednesdays, Reservoir Ave. and 3d St. A. E. West 1505 Ring St.

CARPENTERS' DISTRICT COUNCIL (I. B. of R. and J. A.)—3d and 4th Thursdays, 238 State St. Leonard Davis, 1800 W. 74th St. Carpenters, No. 168—3d and 4th Mondays, Kenosha Ave. Kenosha, Wis. New Vancouver, 300-300 St.

CARPENTERS No. 432—Every Monday, 608 Commercial St. N. J. Davis, 478 17th St. Carpenters, No. 168—3d and 4th Mondays, Kenosha Ave. Kenosha, Wis. New Vancouver, 300-300 St.

CARPENTERS No. 168—3d and 4th Mondays, Kenosha Ave. Kenosha, Wis. New Vancouver, 300-300 St.

CARPENTERS No. 168—3d and 4th Mondays, Kenosha Ave. Kenosha, Wis. New Vancouver, 300-300 St.

Trade Union Directory

In the following list name and number of the union is given, date and place of meeting. The name and address given is that of the union secretary. Those secretaries are not fully performing their duties unless the following secretaries of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee are at all times kept informed of any change in time and place of meeting, or of secretary or his or her address.

FEDERATED TRADES COUNCIL OF MILWAUKEE and vicinity—1st and 3d Wednesdays, Free Gemeinde Hall, 300 4th St. John Reicher, 318 State St., Secy.

BUILDING TRADES SECTION of the Federated Trades Council (chartered by A. F. of L. R. T. Dept.)—3d and 4th Thursdays, 318 State St. Secy., John Schwaiger, 505 Fifteenth St.; Fin. Sec., Henry Rumpel, 218 State St.; Business Agent, Wm. Griebling, 318 State St.

LABEL SECTION of the Federated Trades Council—3d and 4th Thursdays, 318 State St. Chairman, Adrian Miller; Vice chairman, John Schwaiger, 505 Fifteenth St.; Secy., John Reicher, 318 State St.; Fin. Sec., Henry Rumpel, 218 State St.; Business Agent, Wm. Griebling, 318 State St.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES COUNCIL—3d Thursday, 318 State St. Richard Vogel, 743 11th St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL No. 23 (I. T. U.)—3d Sunday, 7:30 p.m., Schubert (Academy) Hall, 1212 Green Bay Ave. Secy., J. J. Handley, 318 State St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL No. 10 (I. T. U.)—4th Sunday, 220 Chestnut St. Christ Thren, 623 Clark St.

NEWSPAPER WRITERS No. 9 (I. T. U.)—Miss E. H. Thomas, 244 6th St.

ELECTROTYPERS No. 15 (I. T. U.)—4th Sunday, 7:30 p.m., 309-309 3d St. Secy., Geo. N. Mink, 230 17th St.

STEREOTYPERS No. 99 (S. and E. I. U.)—4th Sunday, 220 4th St. (Joseph Reicher, 318 State St.)

PRESSMEN No. 7 (I. P. P. and A. U.)—3d Thursday, Jacob's Hall, R. W. Vockel, 623 Clark St.

WEB PRESSMEN No. 20 (I. P. P. and A. U.)—1st and 3d Thursdays, 200 4th St. George Schumann, 675 Lakeside St.

FEEDERS, HELPERS AND JOE PRESS- MEN, No. 22 (I. P. P. and A. U.)—1st Friday, Jacob's Hall, State and 3d St. R. J. Skidmore,

Infant Labor at La Crosse

La Crosse, Wis.: Down on the banks of the old Father of Waters, in a mesh of switch tracks, stands the La Crosse Can Company, the greatest monument to the hellish degeneracy of profit-making I have ever seen in over twenty years of travel in the United States and Canada.

This company is engaged principally in making land and other cans and, like others of dubious ways, succeeds best when it is let alone and can work in the dark.

Most of the work is done by little boys and girls and the first requirement to obtain service with this company is to sign or have your guardian sign a release from all damages to the company by suit against it in case of injury to the children. This release has been dubbed a "death warrant" by those who have gone up against it, and it readily accounts for the utter disregard for life and limb in factories where it is resorted to.

These little boys and girls are employed to do men's work and take all the risks of the dangerous machinery in their own hands at an average wage of about 5 cents per day, and it is almost a daily occurrence for a child to lose from one finger to a hand in this treacherous machinery.

The only time the little victims ever get a ride is when they are maimed badly and are whizzed quickly to a doctor, but, I am informed, for ordinary little cases, such as the loss of a finger, the

HENRY ASHTON

By ROBERT ADDISON BAGUE
ATTORNEY AT LAW

This thrilling little story, written in a fluent and attractive style, with enough of a plot to make it palatable and interesting, carries a strong argument for socialism on every page. "Henry Ashton" places before the reader all that may be said pro and con on the great question of Socialism. Every argument that can be collected in support of Socialism is treated fairly, and each in its full strength. This is a very effective book to the hands of those who are in the habit of "higher" reading. Buy now.

Club Binding, Good Paper, Clear Print, 200 Pages—Price 50 Cts.; Paper Cover, 25 Cts.

Social-Democratic Publishing Company
342-344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

UNEMPLOYMENT

A NEW BOOKLET ON THE BIGGEST PROBLEM
Written by SENATOR GAYLORD

Senator Gaylord introduced, at the last session of the Wisconsin legislature, a resolution, in the form of a petition to congress, asking for immediate action to relieve the unemployment problem in this country.

Of course, the resolution was killed. The Republicans didn't want to know anything about it, for fear they might "recognize Socialism"—and the Democrats followed suit.

In searching for data on the subject, so as to present the argument as fully as possible, Senator Gaylord found a surprising scarcity of material available on American conditions. He began to start inquiries in every direction, however, and replies began to come in.

Meanwhile the Senator was invited to debate the subject of "Unemployment and Socialism as Its Remedy" with John Basil Barnhill, Mr. Barnhill did not know much about unemployment, or Socialism, either, but the debate gave Comrade Gaylord occasion to probe deeper into the question.

Finding such a scarcity of information on the subject, and no Socialist book or pamphlet bearing directly upon it in detail, he decided to give the American comrades the immediate use of what material he had already secured—meanwhile continuing his investigations.

The forty pages of this pamphlet are packed with information, gathered from state and national bureaus of labor, foreign reports, and such facts as could be secured from American labor organizations.

The pamphlet deals with Seasonal Unemployment, Industrial Displacement, The Chronic Unemployed, The Panic and The Industrial Reserve Army. The returns from Wisconsin are given with especial accuracy and completeness.

We have heard much of unemployment, and most of us know what it is to be "out of a job." But this little work sets forth the fact, and the Socialist argument based upon it, with startling clearness.

PRICE 10 CENTS PER COPY

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO.
342-344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

PANYARD

FOR MECHANICALS



Tool Grinders

LEAD

DESIGN
WORKMANSHIP
DURABILITY
EFFICIENCY

FOR TOOLS OF ALL KINDS

THOS. A. PANYARD, 514 Grand Avenue

Ask Your Hardware Dealer for Circular, or write

THOS. A. PANYARD, 514 Grand Avenue

used, apparently, to evade the blacklist law. This book gives the names of heads of households in this city and rates them according to their paying abilities, the ratings being given by their key—"A," good; "B," fairly good; "C," doubtful; and "D," for "get your money."

Two leading lawyers here, who have gone over the evidence, have informed me that these methods should be looked into by the attorney-general.

State Secretary's Financial Report for July

RECEIPTS.	
Dues for Milwaukee County—	
11 of Milwaukee.....	9.00
2 of Milwaukee.....	18.00
1 of West Allis.....	3.00
3.4 and 7 of Milwaukee.....	3.00
Jewish Branch of Milwaukee.....	3.00
1 of Milwaukee.....	3.00
23 of Milwaukee.....	3.00
20 of Milwaukee.....	9.00
17 of Milwaukee.....	30.00
22 of Milwaukee.....	23.85
12 of Milwaukee.....	22.05
16 of Milwaukee.....	3.00
13 of Milwaukee.....	9.00
6 of Milwaukee.....	9.00
1 of Wauwatosa.....	1.35
	\$150.15

Dues from State—	
1 of Glidden.....	3.45
Polish Branch of Kenosha.....	2.00
German Branch of Kenosha.....	6.00
1 of Milwaukee.....	3.00
Members-at-large.....	4.20
Bohemian Branch of Kenosha.....	2.40
1 of New Holstein.....	6.15
1 of Green Bay.....	3.00
1 of Abbottsford.....	1.20
German Branch of Kenosha.....	6.00
1 of Hartford.....	3.75
1 of Madison.....	3.00
1 of Sturgeon Bay.....	3.00
1 of Mountain.....	5.40
1 of Washburn.....	4.95
1 of Sheboygan.....	12.00
1 of Wausau.....	3.00
1 of Breadhead.....	.90
1 of Sheboygan Falls.....	4.95
1 of Beloit.....	2.25
Finnish Branch of Clifford.....	2.00
Finnish Branch of Allouez.....	.75
Finnish Branch of Oulu.....	1.00
Finnish Branch of Racine.....	1.05
Finnish Branch of Red Granite.....	3.00
Finnish Branch of Superior.....	5.00
	\$93.40

Organization and Extension Fund:	
W. S. Wallup.....	1.00
W. P. Cunningham.....	1.10
A. Kahn.....	.50
H. Dennis.....	.75
	\$3.35

Dues of Milwaukee County.....	\$150.15
Dues from State.....	93.40
Organization and Ex. Fund.....	3.35
State Campaign Fund.....	49.95
Mills Lectures.....	28.05
1 of Wausau, printing.....	1.50
S. D. Publishing Co., long distance service.....	.25
J. E. Nash, hangers.....	3.00
County Central Committee, electric light.....	2.50
15 of Milwaukee, delinquency notices.....	.15
C. B. Whitnall, treasurer.....	133.31
	\$466.27

Balance forwarded from June.....	42.11
	\$508.38

EXPENDITURES.	
National dues.....	\$105.00
S. D. Pub. Co., on printing.....	40.00
Telegram.....	1.03
Long distance telephone.....	2.70
Books.....	.25
S. D. Pub. Co., addressing envelopes.....	.64
Riverside Printing Co.....	25.00
Cream City Bill Posting Co.....	75.00
Express on posters.....	.50
Toward Encyclopedia.....	5.00
Postage.....	16.40
W. A. Jacobs.....	15.31
Stenographer's salary.....	48.00
Cleaning office.....	1.50
Electric lighting.....	5.12
Mills Lectures.....	.38
C. B. Whitnall treasurer.....	133.00
	\$474.83

Cash on hand July 31.....	33.55
	\$508.38

E. H. Thomas, State Secretary.

Buy union label goods. Patronize union clerks. Ask for clerks' union store card.

Printers' Convention Correspondence

St. Joseph, Mo., Aug. 10.—An organization able to raise three millions of dollars to win a nation-wide eight-hour struggle is a formidable affair, and the fifty-fifth annual convention of the International Typographical Union, in session here this week, is naturally a mighty gathering of the clans. The administrative work connected with this organization has become so small affair, and President Lynch and his staff put in a week here before the convention opened, getting things shipshape for the week's sessions. St. Joe has an auditorium in which the convention is taking place, a building smaller than Milwaukee's, but not so homely—in fact, not homely at all. The convention has a lot of work ahead of it, but about the only excitement is over the next convention, with Minneapolis, Salt Lake City and Atlanta in the struggle and running in about the order given. The convention may add an insurance feature to its other benefits, and there is also a proposal for a permanent convention city, Indianapolis, the union's headquarters, being intended. This latter idea will meet considerable opposition.

There are over 200 delegates on hand so far, and St. Joe is taxed somewhat in handling so big a crowd. It is a quaint town, a sort of combination of city and village chopped up together and strewn over high bluffs and flats, with the mighty Missouri in the foreground. The town is said to have had three different centers. The district that was settled in the old "90 days of the overland trails" is now in the southeast of the business center, the coming in of railroads having pulled the town away at two different times and to two different localities. In the old town there still stands the one-story brick barn and headquarters of the fa-

Luedke's Clearing Sale

NO SALE GOODS EXCHANGED or CHARGED



Men's Oxfords

\$4.00 and \$5.00 quality.....\$3.25
\$3.50 quality.....\$2.85
\$3.00 quality.....\$2.45
\$2.50 quality.....\$1.95
Men's Tan and Gray Canvas Shoes and Oxfords, \$2.00 quality.....\$1.23
Men's Tan and Gray Canvas Shoes and Oxfords, \$1.50 quality.....98c
Men's Box Calf, Blucher Style
\$2.50 quality.....\$1.95

Ladies' Oxfords and Pumps

\$3.50 and \$4 quality.....\$2.85
\$2.50 and \$3 quality.....\$1.95
\$2.00 quality.....\$1.45
White Canvas Oxfords
\$1.50 and \$2 quality.....\$1.23
\$1.25 quality.....95c
A lot of odds and ends in tan and black, \$3.00
\$3.50 quality.....\$1.00
Children's and Misses', Donge's, Patent Tip, Lace and Button
Sizes 6 to 8, to close out quickly.....79c
Sizes 9 to 11 at.....98c
Sizes 12 to 2.....\$1.25
Low and high heel for big girls, 3 to 5.....\$1.49
Infants', Patent Tip, Button and Lace HAND-TURNED SOLES
Sizes 1 to 5, to close out quickly.....44c
Infants' sizes 1 to 5 and child's sizes 6 to 8 all go at one price.....49c



Boys' Box Calf, Blucher and Bals

Sizes 1 to 5, to close out quickly, at.....\$1.49
Sizes 6 to 13 at.....95c
White Cleaner for cleaning white shoes, during this sale.....5c

413-415 NATIONAL AVE. - Closed Sundays

Union and Party

The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor has unanimously adopted resolutions approving of the entire activity of the Socialist members in the legislature of the state, as well as in other legislative bodies, "who have worked early and late for the cause of the working class and have usually encountered the solid opposition of both of the capitalist parties." It also decided to publish a report of the activity of the Socialist legislators for distribution among the union men of the state.

We congratulate the Socialists of Wisconsin upon their splendid organization, their repeated successes at elections, and, above all, their success in convincing the organized workers of their state of the perfect interdependence of Labor Union and Socialist Party. The economic organization and the political organization of the workers are but two phases of one and the same great movement of labor. The one fights the immediate exploiter—the employer. The other fights the whole class of exploiters and their supreme organization in state and nation. But their activities, though on the whole lying within different spheres, frequently cross each other. On the one hand, the labor union is always hampered and often menaced in its very existence by the employers' control of the government. On the other hand, both labor union and Socialist Party seek to obtain laws for the immediate improvement and amelioration of the condition of the workers—particularly of the most helpless among them, such as women and children. Neither of them can boast of having achieved any very notable success in the recent past. The Socialist Party of this country is not as powerful as the Socialist parties of the other great capitalist countries. The power of the labor unions has not kept pace with the stupendous increase in the power of their employers, the great trusts and other organizations of capital. It is only by constant co-operation and mutual help that the economic as well as the political organization of labor will be able to regain the ground lost to the enemy.

The great fight for the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone and for the preservation of the Western Miners' Federation, which was waged by the labor unions and the Socialist Party against the arrogant mining barons of the West, has shown what may be achieved when the two wings of the labor movement work together in perfect harmony. The electoral successes of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin have demonstrated the same truth.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that the example set by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor will not remain without effect upon the labor unionists as well as the Socialists in other states.—New York Call.

At the Theaters Next Week

NEW STAR

The Washington Society Girls, the next attraction at the New Star theater, will be seen in a new departure in burlesque. The company includes over thirty artists, headed by the two well known comedians, Harry Stewart and Larry Smith, presenting two mirth-provoking



need have no hesitation in visiting "Babes in Toyland" which comes to the Bijou August 29, with the assurance that they will witness good, clean comedy, replete with catchy and tuneful music and a magnificent scenic production; as a setting for real humor it is offered without recourse to horseplay, vulgarity or venality. The books and lyrics are the work of Glen MacDonough, and are said to take high rank as the most pretentious product of this popular librettist, while the exquisitely beautiful music by Victor Herbert is far the most ambitious offering of this talented composer.

A change in the policy of the Bijou will be inaugurated the coming season, when attractions of a high order will be presented, with no advance in prices. Many improvements will be made in the theater, which include a new plate glass front and redecorated lobby. Among the many offerings will be the following: "Babes in Toyland," "A Girl at the Helm," "The Girl Question," "Time, Place and the Girl," "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Man of the Hour," "Wildfire," "Sis Hopkins," "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," "Cole and Johnson in 'The Blue Mouse,'" "The Squaw Man," and "In the Bishop's Carriage."

Playgoers who are in search of theatrical entertainment that may be tried and not found wanting

WM. ZASTROW

Lunch at All Hours
Fine Wines, Liquors & Cigars
174 SOUTH BAY ST.

The Menace of Capitalism

It is inevitable that all productive property pass into the ownership of a few corporations, if private ownership continues to be the policy of society. There can be no other outcome. That follows as logically as effect follows cause. You can see how the small railroads have been absorbed by the greater ones until now there are practically five groups of capitalists who own or control all the transportation of the nation. This is true in other industries. Who would have supposed a generation ago that one firm would have eliminated all the thousands who were making farm implements? Or the hundreds of oil, sugar and other refineries? Yet that is now a fact accomplished. The greater the organization the more easily it can kill a small competitor. If these trusts have been born and grown so great from a small beginning, how much easier it daily becomes for them to wipe out their weaker fellows now! They can do it and do it legally and in just as legitimate a way as the small concerns conduct their business. But they do not stop at legitimate ways—they adopt methods far from being legal, as the many court decisions attest. To do it legally would take just a few years longer, that's all. Your children and mine have no chance at all to be free to engage in industry in twenty years from now. All will be monopolized by those who are now mastering the world's industries. All our children can hope for will be to hire themselves out to the industrial barons—to become hirelings. And if they are not servile, if they dare to have an idea contrary to the interests of those who own all the places of employment, they will be denied a place to work and not get even that kind of a mean existence.

When the great producers have conquered the other fields of industry, do you suppose they are going to let the hundreds of thousands of small retailers continue to make profit? Do you think they will permit millions to take profits that they can easily save for themselves? They will have capital they will not know where to put and they will build great stores in all the towns, stores big enough to supply the whole local demand, and these chains of stores will be conducted on modern principles that will knock the props from under the present individually owned retail affairs. Already this phase of development is growing. The United Cigar Stores company already has two thousand stores, and is fast knocking the other retailers; Kress' ten-cent stores now number 250, and are in every city; other similar retailers are coming on the field in hardware, bakeries, groceries. The stock in these stores is owned by the great rich. The next step will be to gather all these into one ownership and handle all lines of goods. Then the present set of retail merchants will close their doors, not suddenly, but by withering away, and the small buildings now used will give way to the great modern concrete structures, and the little landlord will go with his tenant. His building will have no value, for no one can rent them and make a living. The value of fifty small business rooms will vanish and be absorbed into the great building owned by the rich corporations.

This is taking place right before your eyes every day, and you are too busy or too stupid to see it. But the Socialist sees it, and is trying to awaken you to what it means, that safety for the race may be provided against the danger. He fears for the future of himself and his children, and this fear is the impulse that makes him the agitator that he is, for he cannot protect himself without your assistance, and you will not assist until you understand. Monopoly is inevitable. Shall it be the tyranny of private monopoly or the benevolence of public monopoly, owned and operated for the good of you and I and our posterity!—Appeal.

JOIN THE ORGANIZATION

This is an age of organization. Everything that amounts to anything is organized. And everybody who wants to accomplish something cooperates with others—joins the organized effort in that line.

We want Socialism. We have organized to get it. There are nine millions of us. We have over five hundred representatives in the national parliaments of the world. We want a majority of them all. We have hundreds of papers (weeklies, monthlies and dailies), hundreds of speakers, thousands of workers, tens of thousands of us. We want to convert the world. It is a big job. It will require systematic, organized, sustained effort.

However we must organize. And because, if you want your work to count directly and constantly, you should join the Social-Democratic Party.

Sign the application for membership below, cut it out and send it, together with the fee, to the Social-Democratic Party, 342-344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis. We will promptly mail you the Social-Democratic Party, 342-344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis. We will promptly mail you the Social-Democratic Party, 342-344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN
State Headquarters, 342-344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

I, the undersigned, subscribe to the principles and endorse the platform and constitution of the Social-Democratic Party; and, resounding allegiance to and supporting all concerted efforts of the party, do hereby apply for membership in the Social-Democratic Party, and agree to pay the regular dues.

Name.....
Address.....
Occupation.....

Were you ever a member in this party before?.....
If so, would you leave the party organization?.....

Torture at Green Bay Reformatory

Methods of Correction That Are a Disgrace to Civilization and Should Be Abolished

If the State Board of Control has definitely reported on its recent investigation of the State Reformatory at Green Bay, we have not at this writing seen it, but when it does come we expect to see a whitewash. The investigation did not look just right—such investigations, made with announcements ahead, usually amount to little. They can be prepared for.

One feature of the hearing that struck us was the claim put out by some of the guards that the charges were trumped up by concerted action of some of the inmates to procure the retirement of a certain guard who had incurred the inmates' ill will.

As tending to show the improbability of such a story, as well as to give an inside view of the workings of the torture system in vogue at Green Bay, the same as at most other "reformatories" and prisons, we append herewith a written statement made some months ago by a Milwaukee boy who served his time at the institution. It has not been changed since written, although it only now gets into type, and was written long enough prior to the recent charges and investigation to have no connection whatever with any alleged conspiracy hatched up among the present inmates to discredit some unpopular guard. It reads as follows, the full name of the writer being in our possession, but withheld for obvious reasons:

"A young offender against the law in the state of Wisconsin, for certain crimes, sometimes is sent to the state reformatory at Green Bay. He is sent there with the claim that it is for the purpose of reforming him, but the system upon which the state reformatory is conducted will never reform anybody.

"When a young man is sentenced to the state reformatory he doubtless thinks that when he has been under its influence to the end of his term that he will walk forth a good and honorable citizen and that he will be free to start life anew. It is the sad truth that his wishes and expectations are not realized.

"On entering the institution he is searched and everything taken away from him except his handkerchief. He is hurried in to a bathroom and given a bath; then a close hair-cut, and a change of clothes—that is, he is given the prison criminal garb. This consists of a pair of gray trousers and a gray coat, also cap, shirt, collar, suspenders and socks.

"This attire, he is taken to a receiving cell and given one day's rest, from which he is awakened in the morning and led to breakfast. The breakfast usually consists of pork sausage—not fit for animals, as a rule—stale bread, and syrup.

Works in the Shop

"Breakfast over, he is taken to the factories and set to work; in the majority of cases the assignment is to the overall department. He is given a machine, and a fellow prisoner shows him how to operate it, and given thirty days in which to become familiar with the work. After that he is required to make

his task, which is about thirty-eight overalls a day. If he fails to make his task he is first warned and reprimanded, and then if he still fails is given a report and sent to the office of the superintendent. The superintendent gives him a lecture and if he is sent back to the factory he is put back to work after the guard has also talked to him, and given another week.

"If, during this second week of trial, he is caught whispering, talking or laughing, he is given another report and sent to the office. This time he is punished severely; he is taken to the cell house and placed in a cell. A pair of handcuffs are brought and placed on his wrists and his hands are crossed high up over his head, as high as he can reach, and he is left standing in that straining position, that grows more painful every moment. The cell door is not only locked, but a blind door is placed over the cell door. He is left in that predicament for about fifteen hours every day that he stays in the cell—the time being determined by his willingness of promise to obey the rules and make the allotted task.

The Torture Cell

"At night, when he is taken down from the cuffs, he is not allowed a bed to sleep on, but two blankets are thrown in on the floor and he makes a bed on the cement floor and tries to rest his aching joints and bruised muscles or to forget them in the sleep of exhaustion. No meals are brought him. Only water. No light is furnished.

"During all the time he remains in the torture cell he is not allowed to see a doctor. Frequently the boy is so weak after the hand-cuffing punishment that when he promises to make his task and is put back to work he is too weak and too nervous, perhaps, to perform his task and he falls down.

"What happens then? Why, the probability is that the guard walks over to his machine, throws him off his chair, kicks him about the floor as a warning to the others, and if the prisoner tries to defend himself by giving battle he is set upon and beaten so that he is either taken to the hospital or rushed back to the cell house and hung up with the handcuffs again for four or five days.

"There are always four or five prisoners in solitary confinement, and even more than that number. "There is also a school in connection with the institution, where the prisoners attend two hours each afternoon. They have six rooms in the building and they range as follows: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

"On entering the institution, each prisoner is asked how long he has attended school. If he has no schooling he is placed in room No. 1. If he has had some schooling and can read and write he is placed

in one of the other rooms, according to the amount of his knowledge.

"A prisoner in the school has to study very hard. He has a task to study after leaving school in the evening, and if he fails to study it he loses his meals and may have his face slapped besides. Sometimes he is taken to the cell house and strapped up for a few days.

"In school they also have examination and each pupil's standing cannot be below 75 per cent. If it falls below that average he is fined \$2 or thereabouts. The second time the fine is \$3, and the fourth time the prisoners get put back in the cell house, on the straps, and a new garb is put on him of white and black stripes, and he must wear it some two or three months. If, after that he fails to behave, he is transferred to Waupun to the state penitentiary, for the remainder of his term.

"When the prisoner at Green Bay is at work in the factory he is required to earn 70 cents every day for the state, of which 52 cents is deducted for board, 15 cents for laundry, and 13 cents set over to the prisoner's credit, and each month a certain sum of this is deducted for writing materials and fines, and for clothes and so forth.

"On leaving the reformatory each prisoner is required to buy all his clothes from head to foot, which amounts to about \$10 in all. He is then taken to the railway station, put on a train, and given all his money that remains after paying all his bills, which amounts to about \$15.

Poor Food

"When sick at the reformatory prisoners must work until the physician comes. Sometimes the prisoners are too sick to turn out their work, but it is still required of them. There are also many consumptives among the prisoners, but they are not treated as sick at all, and also eat at the same tables in the dining hall with the others. The meals are not very good, I must say. A meal consists of stale bread, beans, malt coffee, old beef, and other things that are not fit for a person to eat.

"At meal times the prisoners are not allowed to communicate with each other, and if anyone is caught talking at the table by a guard he is ordered away from the table and stood up face to the wall until all the rest are through with their meal.

"When the Board of Control visits the place the prisoners have good meals placed before them and receive good treatment. But as soon as they leave it is the same old treatment over again.

"And such treatment as the prisoners receive in the Wisconsin State Reformatory at Green Bay, Wis., should be looked into by the people of the state."

such a thing as this is too much of a luxury for poor Milwaukee, where the sprinkling suit against Beggs has been rotting in the courts for three or four years.

The Merchants and Manufacturers are opposed to the site chosen for the new house of correction. One reason given is that the stone in the quarry on the site is of inferior quality. This is exactly contrary to the reports that have come in about it, it being claimed by contractors that the stone is unusually hard and when used on streets will outlast all the other crushed stone on the market. As usual, probably, the M. and M. simply signed a thing it knew nothing about and that some member worked its ignorance.

An ingenious Milwaukeean has suggested that, inasmuch as the water to flush the river has to be pumped anyway, it might as well be pumped into a bathing basin and then run out and down to the river to do the flushing. The idea is good. But the plan of building the basin at the lake shore is like "carrying coals to Newcastle." Much better would be a plan to locate the basin over in the more thickly settled part of the Eighteenth ward and then run the overflow through pipes down to the river.

How often is the water in the Natatoriums changed these hot days? There certainly ought to be a change of water daily unless the people are to swim in soup. But is it changed daily? We have our doubts. The time will come when the intercepting sewers along the river in the business district will be put to use and a penalty attached to every offense of throwing refuse of any kind into the stream. Then the water will be pure and the city can have a chain of public bath houses where the multitude can bathe in flowing water and water that is clean all the time.

Mr. Beggs has been forced by lowering skies of public opinion to at last order some new cars, and with customary bombast he announces that they will be Jim Dandies. What we see we will believe.

But Beggs' Jim Dandy cars thus far have usually turned out to be seconds, so to speak. He has never yet put "pon honor rolling stock on his Milwaukee lines. Even his interurban cars lack substantiation and are reported to be upon trucks not up to the proper strength for the strain upon them.

Contrasted with Mr. Beggs is another magnate, Mr. Frost of the Chicago-Milwaukee electric line. Frost may have many of the faults of the street railway magnate, but one thing he must be given credit for: He builds solidly and puts on cars that will even compare favorably with those used by the steam roads, built of walnut and hardwoods and appointed in the latest style.

Frost's cars will last where Beggs' flimsy, shoddy equipment will go to pieces and become frail and dirty in a short time.

But let us possess ourselves in peace and wait. Perhaps the leopard is about to change his spots!

Oath—Admission to the Bar

Following is the new oath to be taken by lawyers in Wisconsin: Chapter 179, Laws of 1909, requires that each person admitted to practice as a member of the bar of any court of this state shall subscribe to the roll of attorneys to be kept by the clerk and to take in open court an oath or affirmation of the tenor following, to-wit:

I do solemnly swear: I will support the constitution of the United States and the constitution of the state of Wisconsin. I will maintain the respect due to courts of justice and judicial officers. I will not counsel or maintain any suit or proceeding which shall appear to me to be unjust, or any defense, except such as I believe to be honestly debatable under the law of the land.

I will employ, for the purpose of maintaining the causes confided to me, such means only as are consistent with truth and honor, and will never seek to mislead the judge or jury by any artifice or false statement of fact or law.

I will maintain the confidence and preserve inviolate the secrets of my client and will accept no compensation in connection with his business except from him or with his knowledge and approval.

I will abstain from all offensive personality and advance no fact prejudicial to the honor or reputation of a party or witness, unless required by the justice of the cause with which I am charged.

I will never reject from any consideration personal to myself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed, or delay any man's cause for lucre or malice. So help me God.

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